

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 02427 282357 Z

63

ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 ACDA-19 SCI-06 MBFR-03

SAJ-01 AEC-11 AECE-00 EA-11 RSR-01 /144 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8621

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM UR

SUBJ: USSR REQUEST FOR JOINT CIRCULATION OF AGREEMENT ON

NUCLEAR WAR AND OF NIXON- BREZHNEV COMMUNIQUE

SUMMARY : SOV MISSION, ON INSTRUCTIONS, HAS PROPOSED JOINT-US- USSR MISSION CIRCULATION OF NUCLEAR WAR AGREEMENT AND OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE. PRECEDENT IS JOINT CIRCULATION OF 1972 MOSCOW SUMMIT DOCUMENTS. WE SEE NO CRITICAL ADVANTAGES OR DISADVANTAGES TO AGREEING TO SOV PROPOSAL, BUT WE BELIEVE DEPT SHOULD CONSIDER CERTAIN NEGATIVE CONSIDERATIONS BEFORE WE RESPOND. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE FOR RESPONSE TO SOV MISSION. END SUMMARY.

1. SOV DEPUTY PERM REP ISSREALYAN TELEPHONED AMB SCHAUFELE JUNE 27 ON INSTRUCTIONS TO PROPOSE JOINT US- USSR MISSION CIRCULATION OF AGREEMENT ON PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR AND OF NIXON-BREZHNEV JOINT COMMUNIQUE. HE, APPARENTLY DELIBERATELY, REFERRED FIRST TO NUCLEAR WAR AGREEMENT.

2. DEPT WILL RECALL THAT AT OUR SUGGESTION LAST YEAR WE CIRCULATED, UNDER SINGLE LETTER SIGNED BY AMB BUSH AND MALIK, TEXT OF BASIC PRINCIPLES AND TEXT OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE RESULTING FROM 1972 MOSCOW SUMMIT (SECURITY COUNCIL DOCUMENT

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PAGE 02 USUN N 02427 282357 Z

S/10074 OF 2 JUNE 1973). SUBSEQUENTLY, WE JOINED POLISH MISSION IN CIRCULATING NIXON- JABLONSKI COMMUNIQUE (SECURITY COUNCIL DOCUMENT S/10693 OF JUNE 12, 1972.).

3. WE ACCEPT OBVIOUS ADVANTAGE THAT JOINT CIRCULATION OF 1973 SUMMIT DOCUMENTS REMINDS UN COMMUNITY OF SIGNIFICANT PRODUCTS OF DETENTE. FROM NARROW UN TACTICAL VIEWPOINT, WE BELIEVE ALSO THAT JOINT ACTION OF THIS TYPE PROVIDES US WITH USEFUL REFERENCE POINT WHAT WE INEVITABLY (AS IS CASE IN CURRENT DISPUTE OVER SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING IN GENEVA) SEE ADVANTAGE IN INSISTING TO MALIK THAT A PARTICULAR UNHELPFUL ACTION IN UN IS INCONSISTENT WITH DETENTE SPIRIT.

4. WE DO NOT WISH TO DRAMATIZE SIGNIFICANCE OF SOV REQUEST AND SEE NO CRITICAL ADVANTAGES OR DISADVANTAGES TO GOING ALONG WITH IT. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE DEPT WILL WISH TO CONSIDER SEVERAL DISADVANTAGES TO JOINT CIRCULATION BEFORE WE RESPOND TO SOVS:

(A) CIRCULATION OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE:

(I) ALTHOUGH WE DID CIRCULATE 1972 SUMMIT DOCUMENT (AND POLISH- US DOCUMENT), WE BELIEVE CIRCULATION THIS TIME WILL TEND TO FIRM UP PRECEDENT NOT ONLY FOR FUTURE JOINT COMMUNIQUE WITH SOVS BUT ALSO FOR OTHERS. IF WE DO THIS WITH SOVS THIS YEAR, WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO TAKE SIMILAR STEP WITH JOINT COMMUNIQUES RELATING TO OTHER MEMBER STATES.

(II) IN ARENA WHERE CHINESE DISPLAY PARTICULAR SENSITIVITY TO SOVIET- US COLLUSION, PRC PRESUMABLY WILL BELIEVE SUCH ADDITIONAL SUPER-POWER DISPLAY TO BE OFFENSIVELY GRATUITOUS.

(III) WE DID NOT JOIN CHINESE IN CIRCULATING 1972 SINO- US SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE HERE.

(B) AGREEMENT ON PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR

(I) WE DID NOT CIRCULATE TEXTS OF AGREEMENTS (IN ADDITION TO TWO DOCUMENTS) FROM 1972 MOSCOW SUMMITS.

(II) WHILE THIS 1973 NUCLEAR WAR AGREEMENT CLEARLY IS THE ONE OF PRINCIPAL INTEREST TO UN COMMUNITY, JOINT CIRCULATION OF THIS TO EXCLUSION OF OTHERS RESULTING FROM NIXON- BREZHNEV SUMMIT WOULD TEND TO DOWNGRADE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 02427 282357 Z

OTHERS.

(III) SUCH AGREEMENT, PARTICULARLY WHEN CIRCULATED IN UN CONTEXT, SERVES TO UNDERLINE SUPERPOWER RELATIONSHIP ON NUCLEAR QUESTIONS THAT IS SO OFTEN TARGET OF UN MEMBERS EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION AND OF PRC ATTACKS.

(IV) JOINT CIRCULATION OF AGREEMENT WILL BE VIEWED TO SOME

EXTENT IN CONTEXT OF US PRESS REPORTS
POINTING TO RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGREEMENT
AND SINO- SOVIET CONFLICT.

(V) WE ARE NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR ABOUT RELA-
TIONSHIP OF THIS AGREEMENT TO SOVIETS NON-
USE OF FORCE ITEM, ON WHICH WE ABSTAINED LAST
YEAR (AND FOR WHCIH SOVS HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO
OBTAIN SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION). BUT WE WOULD
GUESS THAT SOVS FORESEE POSSIBILITY OF EX-
PLOITING THIS JOINTLY CIRCULATED DOCUMENT AS
ARGUMENT IN SOLICITING OTHER'S SUPPORT ON NUF
AT 28 TH GA. WE UNDOUBTEDLY CAN ARGUE HERE THAT
NUF AND AGREEMENT ARE QUITE DISCRETE MATTERS BUT
SOVS NEVERTHELESS WOULD GAIN SLIGHT ADVANTAGE
IN IMPROVED UN ENVIRONMENT SURROUNDING NUF.

5. IF DEPT WISHES TO GIVE POSITIVE RESPONSE TO THIS SOV
INITIATIVE, IT MAY ALSO WISH TO CONSIDER AGREEING TO JOINT CIR-
CULATION OF COMMUNIQUE AND DECLINING JOINT CIRCULATION OF NUCLEAR
WAR AGREEMENT.

6. IN SECOND CONVERSATION JUNE 28, ISSRAELYAN PRESSED FOR EARLY
RESPONSE, MENTIONING THAT 1972 MOSCOW DOCUMENTS CIRCULATED
FOUR DAYS AFTER SUMMIT AND THAT SMUN REQUIRED TO RESPOND
RAPIDLY TO MOSCOW. HE RAISED POSSIBILITY THAT SOVS MIGHT
UNILATERALLY REQUEST CIRCULATION OF DOCUMENTS. COMMENT: FROM
HERE THIS ALTERNATIVE SEEMS TO HAVE POSSIBLE ADVANTAGE THAT
SOVS WOULD BE ONES, IN EYES OF PRC, FLAUNTING SUPERPOWER
COOPERATIONS.

7. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE ON RESPONSE TO SOVS. WE WOULD
APPRECIATE GUIDANCE TO ENABLE US TO REPLY TO SOVS ASAP,
PARTICULARLY IF DECISION FAVORS JOINT CIRCULATION OF ONE OR
BOTH DOCUMENTS, SINCE EFFECTIVENESS OF ANY JOINT CIRCULATION
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PAGE 04 USUN N 02427 282357 Z

WOULD BE DIMINISHED BY DELAY. WHEN AMB SCHAUFELE SEES
ISSRAELYAN JUNE 29 AT LUNCH HE WILL SAY MATTER REFERRED TO
WASHINGTON WHICH ASSURES US THAT RESPONSE WILL BE
FORTHCOMING ASAP.
SCHAUFELE

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

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